

SENAPMONTA.
N. 4. OR, THE
A G R E E M E N T
OF THE
P E O P L E,

Revived, and Recommended to the Great
PATRONS of the COMMONWEALTH,
and to the Sober-minded People
of the LAND in general:

Humbly presented, with an
A P O L O G Y
FOR
Christian Liberty,

TO THE
Honourable Council of the ARMY.

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DAVID W. MCALPIN.

To the Honourable and Renowned,&c. and
the Council of the ARMY.

Men, Fathers, and Gentlemen ;

IT is not unknown to you, and other Worthies in Parliament, City and Country, who are now severally and respectively concerned in the great affairs of the Commonwealth, that the gracious and wise Disposer of all things hath once more brought the Man-child of the Nations Freedom to the Birth ; and is also pleased that it should issue forth from between the feet of this Honourable Parliament. There is nothing wanting (in the judgement of many standers by) to make us happy by such a production, but the sincere and sedulous labour and travel of Mind and Soul, which those should put themselves to, who are by Divine Providence called upon to ennoble themselves by an Off-spring so hopeful, and so much desired as this is. The world's Supreme hath matured and ripened all things to the work ; the day declares what is to be done ; the night of trouble and opposition is somewhat over to you : what remains now, but that you should recall and renew your strengths for the work ? that at length you may become partakers of that joy, which will be at the Birth of that Man-child into the world.

It will not, I hope, be tedious to you to take a view of those cordial salutations and well-wishes conceived in the hearts of some sober and well-minded people in this Country, and intended to be offered to the High Court of Parliament ; in the way of an Address and Petition, with subscriptions answerable to the nature of such an intendment : But the too early rise of another Address, pre-ingaging for its service a great number of those who might have been Subscribers and Promoters of this, (the fate of which, notwithstanding was (if I mistake not) to die without Issue) became a means to the alteration of that course, at first designed for it : So that now it shall content it self to become publike, (with this Councils leave) only by the help and mediation of a private Owner. I will first present to your sight and perusal the Address it self, and after that, an Appendix, by way of an Inlargement on some particulars in that Address, together with an Apology for Liberty of Conscience. The Address it self followeth in these words :

To the Parliament of the Commonwealth of *England*.

The humble Address and Petition of several the Justices of Peace, Gentlemen, and others, of the County of Gloucester, well-affected to the peace and settlement of this Commonwealth.

MAny and wonderful have the Providences of the most High God been in the behalf of this poor, and (as yet) unsettled Nation of ours; even to the amazement (as well as wonder) of the most serious and considerate men: wherein we have had experience of the tempers, inclinations and prevarications of persons interested in publick Affairs, on the one hand; and of the abundant goodness and mercy of the great and wise Moderator of all things, on the other; who hath preserved our State (such as it is) to this day, by raising up of Instruments, from time to time, to assert and vindicate the Peoples Rights against the Inroachments, Usurpations and Oppressions of the Mighty.

When this Nation groaned under those heavy burthens and pressures that were laid upon its shoulder by the last King of *England*, and his subordinate Ministers, it pleased God to raise you up, and to fill you with strength and wisdom, for the weakning of that Arm by which they were imposed, and for the loosning of those galling, Cords with which they were bounden. In which work you did valiantly, whiles you were about it: the Lord blessed your Counsels, your Endeavours, and your Armies; for he had heard the cries of the Oppressed, and the sins and cruelties of the Oppressors, and came down, by you, for the work of Deliverance and Judgement. The hearts of your enemies failed them for fear, whiles the hearts of your friends (which were the well-affected and sober of the Land) rejoiced in you, blessed God for you, and rose up before you, and called you blessed. The speeches and passages of your Honourable House, and those memorable Declarations that proceeded from you in the years 1641 and 1642, &c. to the view of the world, (worthy to be written in Letters of Gold, and to be read in every succeeding Generation for your Eternal Fame) were filled with such strains of Wisdom, Righteousness, and true Reason, and carried in them so clear and full a discovery of your Honourable Intentions to assert and maintain the Legal and Fundamental Liberties, as well Religious as Civil, of the Free-born people of the Land; as that the well-affected to the Interest of the Commonwealth, thought themselves happy in you, and united, as one man, to stand by you unto their utmost hazard.

But behold! when *Josbua* (in *Zachary's* Vision) stood before the Angel of the Lord, *Satan* was observed standing at his right hand. Endeavours were not wanting to stifle the Masculine Spirit of the Nations Freedom, as it lay in the Cradle. Envy, that Infernal Fury, had prepared a viperous Wreath for that purpose, and laid about her abundantly, by means of such men, in whom self-interest had the pre-eminence: so that by the Apostacies, the Lusts, Will and Power of many Members (the portion of whom, we hope, it is not to sit again within your walls, except with hearts repenting and reformed) when the old and open Adversary could not give you the foil, you were, at length, rendered utterly incapable of raising up that Building to

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its due and expected height, of which you gave assurance by your prosperous and honourable beginnings. By means whereof, that Cause, at first by you espoused, seemed to be forsaken, and the honest interest of the Nation exposed to the lust and power of men, as much as ever.

But the God of Mercies hath not yet (we see) forgotten It nor us, who by a most stupendious and unexpected providence, hath called you together to your old work again, through the mediation of the Army (which is indeed your Army) and other Worthies, who have, at last, we trust, remembered their old Engagements, Promises, Vows, Fastings, Prayers, &c. and who are to be remembered by us with all respects of thankfulness and honour for this their interposure: so that the most High hath intrusted you once more with the tender and (hitherto) oppressed Cause of the Commonwealth, and hath determined to try whether you will go on to finish that work to which at first you set your hands. We abundantly rejoyce in your gathering together; and are humbly, yet confidently, perswaded that our good God hath honoured you with this opportunity, that you, under Him, might glorifie and honour us with a just and well-grounded settlement. Our prayers therefore are for you, and our expectations are exceedingly upon you; and seeing you are thus revived and raised up from that death wherein you were held, let the mighty works of Judgement, Wisdom, Courage, Righteousness, and a thorough Reformation, shew forth themselves in you. Arise, Honoured Worthies, and stretch out your arm the second time to save us from confusion, and to secure our Fundamental Liberties. Your very Enemies expect (although with fear and anguish of soul) that great things will be done by you. The great Affairs of the Commonwealth rest now upon your shoulders; and should you lay it down without such provisions made for it, as the present day doth loudly call for, it will leave an indelible stain of dishonor and reproach upon you to all posterity.

We are not altogether insensible of the weight and difficulty of your Honors present employment: Yet the Lord of Hosts hath, through his wife and mighty dispose of things, in some measure calmed the spirit of the people about you, whose eyes are (yet again) fixt on you for an establishment. We shall therefore presume, in all humility, and with a spirit of Free-born Englishmen, briefly to represent unto this Honourable House our good affections to the peace and common settlement of the Nation, in these humble Considerations and Proposals, which follow.

We humbly conceive,

1 That the want of a firm *Basis* for Government in some years past, since the form of the former Government hath seemed to be taken down, hath been the door of occasion and advantage set open for him to enter in and exalt himself, that hath had a lust to rule by instruments of a new device. And that the want of such a manifest *Basis* to the Commonwealth, hath given occasion, during the sitting of by-past Assemblies, to several discontented parties amongst us, to advance their hopes and endeavours for the reviving of their particular Interests which are inconsistent with common freedom, by Petitions, and other means less warrantable, promoted by the old Cavalier-party, and the rigid Presbyterian; of which your Petitioners have had frequent observation and experience: and particularly during the sitting of the last Assembly.

2 That a succeeding Parliament may abrogate and make null (if they please)

please) any Law that is enacted by the bare and single Authority of this present Parliament

3 That if the case be such, it is simply necessary, for the cutting off of all advantages of usurpation and Domesticke disturbance, and for the continuance of peace, that some expedient be found out, and seasonably concluded on, which may be a *Boundary*, in reason and common judgement, to all future Representatives of the people: which expedient may contain a *Basis* for Government stated and made unalterable.

In order whereunto, and with all respect to the Wisdome of this House, we humbly propose and desire,

1 That a Draught of an Agreement of the people may be made, and tendered to these Nations for their consent and particular subscriptions; of which there were some Essays publish'd and offered to publike view, Anno 1649. one of which was presented to this Parliament by the Army; and concerning which work, the Compilers and Promoters thereof delivered this Judgement, That it was visibly of highest moment to the Publike; and that it contained the best and most hopeful foundations of the peace and future well-Government of this Nation, that they could devise or think on, within the line of humane power: and desired that it might remain upon Record before You, a perpetual Witness of their real Intentions and utmost Endeavours for a sound and equal settlement.

2 That this Draught for Settlement, after the manner of an Agreement of the People, may, after the subscriptions of the Parliament and Army, be transmitted to the People, with a Declaration from this Honourable House, desiring to convince their judgements of the goodness and worth thereof, and to engage their affections to acquiesce therein, and to act in Peace and Love according to the tenor and effect thereof.

3 That upon the general subscriptions of the said Agreement by the People, or by the well-affect'd amongst them, it may be returned to this Parliament, and there receive such further adventitious Confirmations, as to the wisdom of this Supreme Court shall seem most meet.

4 That, for the preventing of such mischiefs and evils which may fall out through the giddiness and dis-affection of the multitude in their Elections of future Parliaments, and through their inclinations to Monarchy, and to a coercive power in matters of Religion, It may be provided in the Agreement herein meant and intended, That upon the election of every succeeding Parliament, a competent number of men may be chosen also, by electors, men of such Qualifications as are most probable to lead them to the making of a good choice; (which Electors may be such only, who are expressly against the old Monarchy, and against all exercise of force, or of the Civil Sword in those things which are more especially of God, or over the consciences of men) And that these men thus chosen, shal sit, during the Session of Parliament, to observe whether any thing be promoted or intended by the Parliament or any particular Member thereof, contrary to such an Agreement; and to signify it to the Commonwealth; and to take such other courses as the exigency of such a thing shall require.

5 Although the Liberties and Freedomes of the People contain in them the Liberty of Conscience, and so where the former is perfectly sett'd, the later is also provided for; yet, that we may shew our tender regard to the Kingly Office of Christ, and our apprehension of the dreadfulness of intrenching upon his Royal Dignity, who alone rules over the Conscience; we humbly desire, that all such whose Principles and Practices are not offensive to, but consistent with the publike peace,

may

may be tolerated and protected in the profession of their judgements; and that all Laws, &c. to the contrary thereof, may be vacated and made null.

6 That your Honours would be pleased to proceed in your wonted wisdom and courage, as to the settlement of the Nation in general, so to the taking away of all grievances in particular, that Justice may be speedily, and without unnecessary expences and delays administered, That the Trade of the Nation, now decayed, may be advanced, That Oppression and Vice may be discouraged, and That Codliness and Vertue may receive all due honour, and That the Militia may be settled in the hands of trusty and well-affecting men. In all these particulars we prostrate our judgements before this Honourable Parliament.

Your Petitioners have faithfully represented themselves to you, and are cheerfully ready to stand by you in your Designs for publick good. We are very confident, that except something remarkable, and of plain tendency to the purposes aforesaid, be done, you and all the honest people of the Nations, that now close with you, and gratulate your Return, will be more deeply baptized into the black spirit of sham, dishonor and reproach, then ever you were like to be before; and the well-affecting left, together with your selves, to the lust and pleasure of the next Tyrant, or to the outrage of the numerous and dis-affecting multitude, who have not yet had much taste of the goodness of a Free-state or Commonwealth. Your judgements, after all the experience you have had of our many Changes, will dictate to you what is to be done. And we hope and trust, that your Consciences, your Honours, and your own particular Interests also, will call upon you for the doing thereof. The Nation expects thorow and plain dealing from you now, above all men. Go on then and prosper in the great work of Reformation, that you may be called, *The Patrons of the Commonwealth*: And God, the Great Judge of Heaven and Earth, over-awe your hearts, and keep you close to the business to which he hath called you, without turning aside to the right hand, or to the left.

Thus pray your Petitioners.

THe recital of this Address (which the Author, with many others, under whose notice it came, could not with much peace of conscience suffer to lye dormant, although it be not brought to the Door of Parliament in that manner, wherein it was at first intended) will not, I hope, be made to suffer much under an evil Resentment upon its presentation to the hand of this Council, because it bears a testimony about it of the Authors good affections to the Parliament, this Army, and the Commonwealth; nor may it be wholly sentenced with impertinency, in regard the day of settlement is not yet over, and the bounds of liberty not extended so fully as is requisite to such a settlement, as the following Discourse, made by way of enlargement upon the Address now recited, will demonstrate.

This Petition (then) the Remonstrative and Epilogizing part thereof

thereof being excepted) humbly presents the things which are more especially contained in it, unto serious judgement, under considerations; and Articles of Propofal, iffuing forth, for the moft part, upon thofe confiderations. I will humbly take leave to enlarge, and reafon a little upon both, and do hope to obtain the patience of this Honoured Council in fo doing: which hope is better founded, then that which hath no ground; for you your felves have given the greateft part of occafion to this undertaking; as it may be feen throughout. (But to return to our Addrefs.)

1 It is a vulgar opinion, (how found or unfound foever) that the antient foundations of the *Commonwealth* are out of courfe, and that it hath no Government but that of the Sword; and fuch as it fhall pleafe from time to time to create and fet up. For the Supreme Legislative Power for Ruling, is known to have been invettèd in the King, the Houfe of Lords, and the Commons in Parliament: The two former of which Eftates being removed, it is (although erroneoufly) apprehended, that the third falls of it felf. Now whiles fuch an opinion reigns in the judgements of men, and from thence influenceth their affections, it is no hard thing to conjecture how eafie they may be provoked to ferve the ends of the Old Malignant Spirit, whensoever it fhall pleafe to rife. And it is very obferveable, that the Promoters of the late Infurrection difcovered this advantage, as their Declarations make manifeft, of which it is vehemently to be fufpected and feared, they would have made much ufe, had their defign received any prosperous beginning. The people call that peace (fuch as it was) to mind, which they enjoyed when *Kingly Power* was in its glory: They obferve further, that fince the day there was no King in *England*, the Nation hath been expofed to the perillous hazards of divers and fearful changes; hereupon they conclude, that we fhall have no lafting peace without a King; and this makes them look backward with a luftful heart after the Old Government again, becaufe they have neither the experience, nor the knowledge of a *New*.

2 It was obferved how the Spirit of the Prelatical Party was inflamed and engaged upon endeavours againft that Chriftian Liberty now in ufe, and for the reducing of difsenting Chriftians unto the old *uniformity* in matters of *Faith and Worſhip*; and that, during the laft Affembly under the late *Protector*. Can it be

be imagined that ever they would have raised their hopes up to that height, and have laboured so earnestly to obtain their desires, if they had known they should not have prevailed? and know it they might, in case Parliaments were prohibited from answering such desires. It is to be feared, that whiles Parliaments are at liberty to grant, there will not be Petitioners wanting to ask, for an *Act* or an Ordinance to molest and trouble even peaceable-minded people, because they make not one mind and judgement with others in some particular points of Religion; and peradventure some succeeding Parliament may be solicited with one Petition to chuse a King again out of *the Family of the Stewarts*, when the Royal Spirit shall become willing to act for the obtaining of that by *desire*, which it could not gain by *force*. But if such a *Basis* and *Boundary* were settled, of the want of which the first *consideration* insinuates a complaint, it would put the said turbulent spirit to rebuke, and cause it to surcease its action, and in short time incline such as are led by that spirit, to rest on it, as perceiving now at length what they must trust to, although haply they may not have so good a liking thereof upon its first erection.

3 The same hand that gathers together, and builds up, may at another time (*codem jure*) pull down, and scatter abroad: No instances more ordinary then those of this kind: How then will the Honour of this present Parliament, and the just Liberties of the good people of the Land be preserved and maintained in that due respect and state, as become both, if another day may lay the glory of their best and choicest *acts* in the *dust*? The same Parliament may undo that anon, which it self made up but now: So 'tis confest, that a succeeding Parliament may devoure and break in pieces the best compacted frame made by the *simple* and *bare* Authoity of a former, and may stamp the residue under its feet. If then (Gentlemen) you are careful to keep that ground which the Parliament and your selves have gained (and it is monstrous to think otherwise of you;) and to gain that over into the same possession or custody which remains yet unredeemed, (receive this word from the mouth of a worm) Let all heedfulness and diligence possible be used to set *limits* and *bounds* to all future Powers, that they may not break over to invade the peoples *Rights*: And let all hazards be provided against (except that against which there is no provision to be made) I

mean an irresistible and over-flowing force, out of whose hands no humane power can redeem.) By which one work, the *Worthies* in Parliament and Army will more enoble themselves and felicitate posterity, then by an hundred Acts or Ordinances made without such a preceding provision. And it is to be hoped, that if such a *settlement* be laid, and *limits* fixed, the powers of Heaven will so far own it, and stand up so close to it, as that the most Potent and Malignant Interest in the world shall never be able to subvert and destroy it, nor obscure its glory; but that all attempts to that purpose shall prove most fatal to the undertakers thereof.

4. Nor is it much, that Parliaments should have *Boundaries* set to their Power and Authority. The great Creator of the world hath prefixed to all his creatures their proper *limits*: He hath set bounds to the Sea, beyond which it may not pass; and other creatures have their Regions and Elements, as their *bounded Spheres of Action*: Man also is confined, both in his power, and his being. It should not then sound harsh in any ears, that such Supreme Courts, being Bodies Civil, should have their spheres assigned to them. Our Ancestors have been commended for their wisdom and care by some, in limiting and setting out the *being, acting, and continuing*, even of *Parliaments* themselves. It is true, we have some assurance that our Representatives in that *High Court* (because they are our Representatives, and chosen by us) will steer directly to the peoples good, and not exceed those bounds, lest by doing otherwise, their Honors should sustain a loss: But it is a greater assurance, if they may not transgress, but with the peril of their lives, which danger may be still before their eyes, if they also are confined within such a Law which they may not abrogate, but with capital sufferings, as the guilt of such a Treason doth deserve. Thus much only for enlargement upon the considerations offered in the first place.

5. As for the Articles of Proposal comprehended in the Address and Petition before mentioned, the sum and substance of them have been so much, and so earnestly contended for already, that there would be the less to be done here upon them, were the hearts and souls of all parties inclined to follow their own principles with such exactness as becomes men of reason, worth, and honour; but because the contrary is incident to our humane

mane state, of which we have had too much experience, it will not, I hope, be grievous to insist a little on some of those particulars.

The Original of all just Power and Authority is resolved into the peoples hands, and that by the judgement of the Parliament it self. The Statesmen tell us of three wayes, by which Ruling Powers are set up for Government. The first is by *Divine Consecration*, or immediate Dictate of God: By this way *Moses*, that meek spirit, became a Governour over the Tribes of *Israel*. The second is by *Conquest*; and the last is by popular consent. There is no manifest claim laid by our Rulers to either of the two former; and if there were, it is a work of no insuperable difficulty to implead and invalidate the Title. The last way then is that in which we are to settle, and according to the rational rules whereof, the course of Government is to be steered. The Members of this present Parliament were chosen by the people; it must be confessed; and thereupon we have assurance, that they will dispose things so, that the well-affected and more judicious sort may rejoyce in them, and bleis the Lord that ever they were chosen: which disposure of things must be by setting the Government in such a way, that their own and the Nations just Liberties (which are now the price of much blood and treasure) may be preserved from the uncertain determinations of future Ruling men, as far as humane wisdom can secure them. The Commonwealth labours under a double Epidemical distemper; there is a restless spirit of faction and animosity carrying men aside towards private interests; and there is a spirit of doubtfulness, in respect of publike *Administrations*, no party being well and thoroughly perswaded, where, in the midst of those great Revolutions, which their eyes have seen, they shall at last come to bottom. (As for any forraign danger threatening us, it receives life from these, and will vanish, as the people are recovered out of this complex disease:) What is more likely to effect the cure hereof, (I speak with submission) then for our Noble Patriots in Parliament and Army, to endeavour their utmost for the drawing of the people into a *general Consent and Agreement*? which is to be done not by force and violence, or by any interminating Law, but by an honourable example, and by real demonstrations, and solid reasons, leading the judgements and the consciences of the yet-unperswaded willingly captive thereunto, according to the

sense and true intention of the second Article. What can be more likely to correct and carry away those peccant humours in the disaffected sort, and to extinguish those animosities which kindle and rise up between party and party, then to present them with one *common Basis and Foundation*, on which every ones Common Right may be secured? And when the more discontented party shall have some sight of that preservative, and of the Sovereign good which lieth therein, and shall perceive withall, that a restraint is laid upon their spirit of violence, that they cannot invade the common liberty and right of their neighbours at their pleasure, they will, ere long, rest themselves contented, and sit down under the Government in peace, when they see their own liberties and properties secured by it.

6 A supposition, that a very considerable part of the people will not consent to, and subscribe such Articles as such an Agreement should contain, will not I hope supersede the motion, nor disengage those whom it may more especially concern, from endeavours to promote it: For, let it be granted that such a number, who having their judgements captivated by their passions, are thereby rendered incapable of seeing the way to publick good, will thereupon refuse to yield their consents to the laying of this Foundation-stone; shall this hinder those who are better disposed, and less prejudiced, to act towards such a settlement, which hath been so solemnly declared and adjudged to be *visibly of highest moment to the Publike*? An Act of Parliament is interpretatively, and according to the mode of Parliament, an Act of the whole House, although of four hundred Members, one hundred ninety and nine be negative in passing the Bill; and such an Act, if it be general, concludes and shuts up every particular Member of the Commonwealth unto obedience, although those Gentlemen chosen for Knights and Burgesses had not the voice of every particular and individual person therein. If the major part consent and subscribe to such an *Agreement*, why may it not be taken for the agreement of the whole? Or, should the number of the non-subscribers weigh down the balance, and upon the account, come forth the greater; shall I say it is then question, whether the well-affected to that way should neglect the means of their preservation, and of the securing of their own Rights and Liberties to themselves and their posterities, because their number is exceeded? But if it be provided that the Non-Subscribers shall be
 incapable

unable of any Publike Trust or place of profit in the Commonwealth, and of giving their voices for Members to sit and act in the Supreme Court; and if those also were subtracted from the number of the whole Body, who are indeed the conquered Party in the Nation; if also some active men, men that understand the nature and end of this work, and are able to answer the objections, and to remove the scruples which haply may be (modestly) made against it, or raised up concerning it; (although such a draught should be made most plain, and as little liable to exception as possible) I say, if such men were employed in every County for the management of the business, in tendering such a draught to the people, and in taking their subscriptions, methinks a very competent, yea, a very considerable measure of confidence may be adventured, that the Subscribers would upon these terms amount to far the greater number of the people.

7 Had such a draught, upon which the eye of this present discourse is fastned, been concluded on, compleated with subscriptions, as aforesaid, and made unalterable by any Representative Power whatsoever, and had it been made High-Treason by the same *Agreement* for any person whatsoever to endeavour the subversion or alteration thereof by force or counsel, it is more then probable, that those attempts that have been of late made against the present Power, and for the re-inforcing of another, would never have been conceived, or brought forth, because of the pre-ingagement of the spirit of the people in the said Agreement. Or, if those men in whom the spirit of discontent and malignancy is in its elevation, should have adventured, notwithstanding, actually to endeavour the promotion of their own particular interests, in direct opposition to the general settlement, a Tryal of such men, as Traytors to the *Commonwealth*, at an ordinary Assize, in the face of the County, where such a fact should be found to have been committed, (in which Tryal, those Fundamental Laws contained in the *Agreement*, against which the malefactors have risen up, together with the plainness of the tendency of those Laws to publike good, should be explained to the people, and inculcated upon their minds, and the desperateness and cursedness of the attempt for their subversion unravelled and set forth, to the utter detestation of the hearers) I say, that an open Tryal of two or three of the principal, or Ring-leaders of such men, in such a manner, and the execution of them accordingly,

dungly, would strike the heart of Cavalierism with more fear, dread and horror, and would be more likely to wear out their spirit, then the securing of an hundred of them in a time of suspicion and danger, and committing of them to the custody of the Marshal, till the cloud be a little overblown; this later being sustained by them as an honour, not as a disparagement, to their Cause.

8. And for the prevention of such differences as may possibly arise between those persons, which should be called together out of every party of the well-affected sort, for the stating and compiling of such Laws and Articles as that Agreement must consist of, were that Complement now to be made without a Pattern, That Draught which was once prepared and offered to this Parliament, by the Lord *Fairfax* and his Council of War (of which our Address makes mention) may, it having received (if there be need thereof) such alterations or emendations as are found needful, by consulting with the Natural and National Rights of the People, and with some other Draughts of the same kinde, be that Body in, o which both Parliament and Army may first inspire life, by giving their consent and subscribing it, and by commending it therewith to us in the Countries round about them, as a *Testimony of their real intentions and utmost endeavours for a sound and equal settlement*. Then shall they be called the *Repairers of the Breach, and the Restorers of paths to dwell in*: and until then, that *Good Old Cause* of which there is so much talk in the World, will be obnoxious to the subtilty of the Foxes, and the raging fury of the Lyons of the Forrest.

9. There is a double evil to be endeavoured to be excluded by them that sit at the Helm, an *absolute Monarchy*, and *persecution for Conscience*: the establishing of a *Free Commonwealth*, and the securing of it from the force and violence of these two evil spirits, is an eminent attainment: *Hic labor, hoc opus est*. A numerous multitude remember the old Government by Kings; and that *Uniformity in Religion* which was contended for by a Law, when *Episcopacy* was in its strength; and they retain a good liking thereof, with a reflection of disdain and hatred upon those, as the cause of all their troubles, that have had a hand in the demolishing of these, and now take pleasure in their Ruines. This interest (it may be said) will have the major voice in the Election of *Knights and Burgeses* for Parliament; and such men are likely to be sent thither,

thither, by their choice, who are led by the same spirit with them: Is not the *New Commonwealth* in danger now? Parliaments also are errable, and may be swayed to gratifie particular interests too much, against the *Common Right of all*: And being now supposed to be made up of such, for the most part, who bear upon them the Image of the Electors, will they not introduce *Monarchy* again, and uncharm and set at liberty that restless *Spirit of persecution*, which finds the *Rooms* of too many professing men *swept and garnished* for its entertainment? what? shall we think that that Honourable and Supreme *Court*, which ought (as the Lord *Cook* well saith) *To give example unto all inferiour Courts*, will move or act directly and manifestly contrary to that, whereunto they have consented, and manifested their *consent by subscription* lying upon publique and perpetual Record, and by consenting have, as far as in them lieth, made unchangable? shall we think that such a Parliament will endeavour to destroy and lay wast such a *Foundation*, which not only themselves, but those also by whom they are more manifestly intrusted, conspired together to make unmovable, and to render it the sure *Basis* or *Bottom* for Government? Is all Faith and Humane stedfastness exiled the Breasts and Consciences of English men professing Chrittianity; and gone to attend in service upon the Courts of *Pagans*? No: It is to be presumed, that a few years will extinguish those discontents and heart-burnings which are in men, in as many, at least, as need to be feared in this work: And that when they shall behold real intentions and proportionable endeavours for publick good and settlement, they will content themselves to build uniformly on that Foundation, which they shall find laid for such a purpose. But if doubts do still remain, notwithstanding this, concerning the inclinations of succeeding Parliaments to that *ground and settlement*, Let additional cautions and provisions be made, and included in that *Agreement*, for the further security thereof; Let it be declared and agreed that every Member of Parliameat shall take a *Solemn Oath* (a most Religious Bond) not to endeavour the Abrogation or Alteration of this *Agreement of the People*; and let it be put in execution accordingly: and besides, it may be provided in the same, That some one man be chosen at every Parliament-election, out of every County, to make an Assembly, during the sitting of Parliament, whose chief trust may be, to see that nothing be done contrary to that *Fundamental Law*; And let this choice be to be made by such only

ly as are manifestly known to be against the ejected *Monarchy*; and for the liberty of *Conscience*: And if, after all these preservative cautions, there be yet doubt and cause for doubting, the Law of necessity remains to be put in ure, which is to be the last refuge for safety, when all means else do fail; and (I speak under favour all along) there is an Army that is needful to be kept up, to defend the this *Commonwealth* thus settled, from rending winds and storms, whiles it is tender and young.

10. A motion to the creating of such an Assembly forementioned, which is to oversee the peoples Liberties contained in that great *Charter*, and to preserve them from violence and undermining, must not prove irksome or displeasing to the severer sort of *Commonwealths-men*. These Patriots are either, such as stand averse to that Liberty of Conscience spoken of before, or such whose judgements and affections have adopted it, and are contenders for it. The men of the first sort, I hope, will not obtain that happiness (or rather unhappiness) as to be heard and answered in their Designs and Desires; God (I trust) hath provided some better thing for the present Generation of his people, after all these Turns and Tumults, then to give up dissenting Christians into the wills and hands of such men: And if these drive forward to the settling of an *absolute Commonwealth*, without some such cautions and provisions as are intended in the former Section; it is to be feared that the *Good Old Cause* will at length be undermined again, and the *Abettors* thereof rooted out; there being nothing more probable then that the well-affected to *Religious Freedom* will be out-voiced in chusing Members for our great Court of Parliament (especially as the case yet stands with the people:) what manner of men then, that great Council will consist of, and which way they will set their faces, is no hard matter to divine: so that those who are for the laying of the foundation of a Commonwealth without a Fundamental *Agreement of the People*; without swearing, & thereby most solemnly obliging, all Parliament Men to give all true and faithful respect and observation to that *Agreement*; without a number of men to sit & observe, that the Laws and Articles of the *Agreement* be kept inviolable, even by Parliaments themselves; and without an Army (at least, for the present, as the state of things yet is) to suppress all Insurrections that intend the general Disturbance of the Peace of the Commonwealth; or without some other means equivalent, or Superiour in strength,

to these for common security (for I dare not to prescribe with peremptoriness) I say, Those men who are driving on in publick Affairs without this, may be suspected for such, who (either unwittingly or of set purpose) contend to have one door yet kept open for Tyranny and oppression to enter in upon its next Advantage. But the Parliament and Army have given some reason to assure us, that there is an heart of loyalty to that *Good Old Cause* at first contended for, lodged in their Bosoms; Let not then the formalities and punctilioes of a *Commonwealth*, become the subject of contention, to the loss of the substance and life of the whole interest. If the Nation be to be preserved from the return of that Monarchy, under whose Power and Tyranny it once groaned, and from that bloody arm of persecution for Conscience in Religious things which hath been lifted up too often to the ruine of many precious men; and if the Parliament and their Army, would be the saviours thereof from these in this day of its Distress and Difficulty, let it not be thought much by any of them, that such means as is necessary, should be employed for the effecting of such a Salvation and Protection; although those means, so to be employed or set up, comport not so exactly with the absoluteness of a *Commonwealth-form*. But by this that hath been proposed as a means for security, there is nothing added, except that which first passeth through the consent and approbation of the people, in whom the Authority of erecting Governments resides, (as it hath been said) and so consequently, nothing but what may pass without much ado with all those whose hearts and souls are addicted and devored to the general peace, just liberty, and perfect settlement of the people.

II The sixth Article in the Petition pre-inserted, is wholly bestowed and laid out upon, and in the behalf of that great question, which is opposed with so much fiery zeal by some, and so curtailed and strait-laced by others; I mean, *Liberty of Conscience*, in points of Faith, and of Divine Worship. When the Rights and Freedomes of the people are fully, clearly, and perfectly stated and secured, in such a way, and upon such terms as have been shewed in the former periods, there is no need that any more should be done for this particular *Liberty*: Every man may sit down under his own Vine, and may (*salva conscientia sua*) possess his soul in patience and quietness; the heavy fingers of the more tyrannizing sort being, by that settlement, removed
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and prohibited from falling on that tender point. Yet in these times, and before such an Agreement and Government is settled, it is humbly desired in this Article, That those whose principles and practices are not offensive to the publick peace of the Commonwealth, may be tolerated and protected in the profession of their Faith and Judgement, however dissenting from the commonly-received principles in Religion) and for that purpose, that all Laws, &c. to the contrary thereof, may be vacated and made null. This Article Petitions for no more, then what hath been solemnly and deliberately declared and published by the Council of the Army (when time was) in their draught of the Agreement before quoted, as their judgement and desire: And of which, as being a part of that model framed and drawn up by them, they professed, that according to the utmost extent of their judgements, it was the way to a most just and equal settlement. According to which also, that Instrument of Government, seemingly intended for the Magna Charta of the Commonwealth; and to rule after the Ar-

ticles therein, that Protector, who received his very Being of Protector at the same instant with it, listed up his hand, and swore by Him that liveth for ever and ever (the fulfilling of which oath, even in this very point of Liberty, and the Calastrophe of that Family, is to be observed: †) That Instrument of Government, I say, declared and settled this liberty, to the content and pleasure of the dissenting godly in the Land, in as full and as large a way (upon the matter) as this Article desires; so that our lips move not herein for any new Thing.

† The passages of the Government of that Great Man, together with his entrance into that Government, might be recorded with very material observations to be also made thereof, but that I list not to indulge or act in their humour, who cryed Hosanna to Him, while he lived, but after death do crucifie him; which is a most ridiculous and unbecoming temper, and the constant character of the vulgar spirit. Read Conscience Oppression set out in his time.

12 The common sort, whose understandings are not so well acquainted with the work of the Gospel, nor so considerate of the manner of its settling truth upon the hearts and consciences of men, as is to be desired, are apt and ready, at every turn, to charge the commotions and broils rising up in the Land, upon the head of the Sectaries, men dissenting from them in matters of Faith and Worship; concluding and crying out amongst themselves, to the inraging one of another, that we shall never have any

any lasting peace whilst so many different Professions (Religions they say) are tolerated by Authority. — So that if ever there be an opportunity offered to them, and they therein get the head, and prevail (but) a little, this ertionious perswasion of theirs will arm them with rage, and animate their fury against very many peaceable and well-affected people in the Nations, even to the making of them a prey to the outrageous lust and power of these sons of violence. It is therefore most seriously to be wished, and as carefully to be endeavoured, that there be a proceeding to the settlement of the Nation, without any Magistratical Cognizance of Dissenters about Divine things; and that the peace of the Commonwealth may be preserved upon that settlement; that that sort of men, in whom the aforesaid mistake and false imagination domineers, may learn the folly and vanity of such their conception, and repent thereof, when they shall see peace and prosperity within our walls, standing together with a *Toleration* of dissenting Christians.

And here I cannot but declare my wonder (and the wonder of many more also) at that spirit of this Council, manifested in the sixth Proposal of your Humble Petition and Address to the Parliament, in these words: *That all persons that profess Faith in God the Father, and in Jesus Christ, his Eternal Son, the true God; and in the Holy Spirit, God coequal with the Father and the Son, one God blessed for ever; and do acknowledge the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament to be the revealed or written Word or Will of God, shall not be restrained from their profession, but have due encouragement, and equal protection in the profession of their Faith, and exercise of Religion: Provided that they abuse not, &c.* Who would have imagined that ever such a thing as this is, should issue forth from between the feet of such a Generation? I will humbly take the boldness, as a Spectator only of these transactions, to reason and debate a little with that spirit, wherewith you were acted in the compiling and drawing up of this Proposal: and this I will do, out of that respect I bear and owe to the Regal Dignity of the Lord Jesus; and that obligation which lieth upon me (a servant of the same Jesus) to vindicate his Crown out of the hands of all unjust usurpation whatsoever: yet with the salvage of all respects of honour and esteem due to you (magnanimous and victorious *Heroes*) the Promoters of the said Petition; because I have yet this full perswasion concerning you, that if you knew that the said sixth Proposal, or any part or member thereof, did look with any (the least) malignant aspect upon the Kingdom of Christ, you would take far more

pains to expunge and blot it out from before the eyes of *Parliament*; then, I suppose, you took to draw it up, and to present it to them.

It is (then) very questionable, whether that spirit, by which this proposal concerning *Liberty of Conscience* was projected and framed, were of God, and not rather a spirit of *selfishness* and *carnality*, whose way of acting is beneath, and most commonly against that of the Gospel: For, besides what is done to the discovery of its Descent and Lineage, by the intent and scope of the said Proposal, which it may and must be interpreted to design and make towards, the very structure and frame thereof is significant enough, that the Artificers were not therein *guided and taught of God*; and that the work it self was not carried up by a Divine *Hand*. First, you draw up, and give in such a Symbol and *Confession of Faith*, or things to be believed, as necessary to *obtain the protection of the State*, as is not by the Holy Spirit made necessary to the enjoyment or *possession of Heaven*. Jesus Christ in that most sweet and Divine Confession and Supplication of his to his Father, *John 17. ver. 3.* saith thus: *This is life eternal, to know thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent*; i. e. Those who know and acknowledge with heart and conscience, the Father for their only true God, or most Sovereign Lord; and who in like manner acknowledge Jesus Christ for the Messiah, or Sent of God, are the undoubted Sons and Heirs of Eternal Life. And *Paul*, that eminent and able Minister of the *New Testament*, describes the word of Faith thus in *Rom. 10.* *That if thou shalt confess with thy mouth the Lord Jesus, and shalt believe with thy heart that God raised him from the dead, thou shalt be saved.* *ET* *uid* *in* *mund* the gate that opens into that Kingdome which is yet to come, is, by the great Oracle of the Heavens, declared to be *strait*; and it is no part of the prudence of man (nor doth it favour of true wisdom in him, to do as you have done,) neither is it a thing pertinent to man, for whose sake this door or in-let into Life is set open, to make it straiter then the Author of that Life hath made it. Or shall we think it will redound to the honour or advantage of any Commonwealth or Kingdome in the world, to make the terms and conditions of obtaining a place of rest and peace in it, more rigid and severe, then those the Divine *Law-giver* hath made for the enjoyment of a *better peace and rest above*? I am reasoning with men of wisdom, and therefore shall forbear many words. It is the judgement of the most judicious, sober, and learned sort of Christians almost of all parties now, *That the Fundamentals of Faith* (I mean, such things as are simply necessary

necessary to be believed, in order to the enjoyment of life everlasting) are few and clear; and therein they conclude with Saint Paul, but condemn Athanasius for drawing out his Creed into such a tedious Bed-roll of particulars, and therein sentencing all who dissent in any one point with an *Anathema Maranatha*. Secondly, there is not that care and exactness used by you, as is requisite to a work of this moment, in speaking concerning the Holy Scriptures; when you make the acknowledgement of the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament for the revealed or written Word or Will of God, as another member of your Creed, necessary to be believed, in order to mens receiving encouragement and protection: For this saying, *That the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, are the revealed or written Word or Will of God*, can admit of no tolerable construction in reason, and as the thing will bear, otherwise then what the Apostle Paul saith of the Scripture, that it is *divine*, divinely inspired; or that the men which, time after time, were employed in writing them, were set to work, and enlightned and directed in their work by the Holy Ghost: And in this sense indeed, they may be said to be the Will of God, i. e. such a work as was dispatcht and commended to the world by the Will and direction of God: But otherwise for the subject matter of Scripture, or things written, a very considerable part thereof is historical, and relates (although not with such fallibility as other Histories do) the words and facts of men, which were many times against the Word or Will of God: As for the Doctrinal, preceptive and promissory part of these sacred leas, they are in a more neer and tolerable sense, to be called the Word and Will of God. So that this Article of this *Symbolum Armatum*, or Creed of a Religious and Renowned Army, may prove a gin, and a snare, and a rock of offence to some who think as you think, upon the matter; yet because they cannot speak so as you speak, without some distinction and interpretation, shall have their protection called into question. Thirdly, the compleiment of this Proposal, after the manner as you have laid it down, gives occasion unto men not interessed in the work, to conceive and conclude; either first, that the Doctrine of Co-equality of persons in the God-head is not contained in the Holy Scriptures: Or secondly, that it is not so clearly contained therein, but that it stands in need of some distinct and accurate exposure, else more ordinary capacities could not be able to raise themselves up to the observation and understanding thereof. Or, thirdly, that the Council of Officers stands in direct opposition (in respect of hu-

mane.

manefellowship), to a particular sort of men that never did them any harm. For after you had spoken your minds concerning the God-head; and the distinction of persons therein, you make the acknowledgement of the Divine Authority of the Scriptures another part of those qualifications (*distinctim & separatim*) wherewith those are to be adorned that must expect safety from the Commonwealth: As if a man might acknowledge the Scriptures to be true, and of God, and yet deny the Doctrine of the Trinity in the way that it is here propounded. What? would you have us to conclude that the Doctrine of Co-equality of Persons in the God-head, is not contained in the Scriptures? or else what mean you by this? It is true indeed, the Papists do acknowledge upon occasion, that the Doctrine of the Trinity of Persons in the same substance, is *hypostat*, a Tradition (in the modern sense of the term Tradition:). And will you make the belief of Traditions necessary, for men to have liberty of converse in your Commonwealth? It is confessed again by those that are neither *Papists*, nor *Socinians*, that that Doctrine of the Trinity, as proposed by you, is not so clear in Scriptures, as some other things of greatest importance: Ah! Gentlemen; will you press so hard upon those whose eyes see not things that are in the dark, that they shall have neither part nor lot in that peace and safety of this Commonwealth, which hath been purchased by your hand, in a great measure thereof; because they do not see that which the most seeing part of your selves declare to be mysterious and obscure, and (in a sense) invisible? Or are the *Socinians* men of so ill deservings in your eye, that (although *Paul* nor *Jesus* exclude them not heaven, by their Creed (as hath been shewn, yet) you will leave them out of your Petition, to stand or fall before the great Masters of the Commonwealth; and thereby render them obnoxious to the wild Beasts of prey which range abroad in the Dark? what evil have these done against the peace and Settlement of the Nation, that they should be the men singled out above all others, and set up as a mark for their Neighbours to shoot their Arrows, sharpened with indignation, against? you cannot, therefore, Oh you mighty Ones! but perceive, how that in the very framing of this Proposal, you were led by a spirit not of God, nor by your own; for then your work would have been more compact, clear, uniform and publicly beneficial; but by a spirit clothed in *Black*, darkness being the Region thereof; from whence proceeds nothing but disorder, bloodshed and outrage: you have stumbled in the very draught thereof, and thereby have laid open your weakness: And such indeed hath been

...which Divine Providence hath thought meet to de-
pende, of late times especially, to those who have attempted to set
up an Image of Doctrine to which they are resolved to force their
Brethren to bow down: men never act in a way more unseemly, in-
discreet, and unlike to *men*, then when they endeavour towards the
lifting up of Instruments of force to have to do in things pertaining
to God.

2 The substance and scope of this Proposal of yours which we
now have under question, is to shew what manner of persons
they are, and must be, who, you would, should be received into
the favour and *protection of the State*: wherein there is an im-
itation also implicirely and constructively delivered and given, of
that sort of men, which you are willing should be left out without
the Lines of that Protection. Had you left none without that pale,
but such whom your *Quondam-General*, and the Nations Protector
was willing to have to fall under the cognizance of the *Civil Ma-
gistrate*; in his Speech to the *Parliament*, Jan. 22. 1654. pag. 18,
19. there is not a pen, I dare believe, would have been lifted up
to encounter your proceedings herein, except by those who have a
mind to lord over the consciences of all men differing from them but
in the least points: But that you should leave out a Generation of
men, which in the judgement of their Adversaries are contemptible
neither for number, nor for their intellectual nor moral Qualifica-
tions, and these too, many of them instrumental for the Redempti-
on of that *Liberty* of which the religious and well-affected amongst
the people are partakers, at present; and measure them for destru-
ction, rather then preservation, or *protection*; this sheweth you to
the world, upon that side which you were not wont to be seen on;
for hereby you exhibit your selves to publike view, as men of a nar-
row and low spirit, forgetful of your antient principles, and igno-
rant of the true bounds of Christian Liberty; and not men of
publike spirits, as you have formerly shewn your selves to be.

3 The Lord of Hosts made you instrumental and serviceable to
the vanquishing of that persecuting power settled in the *Hierarchy*;
and to the suppressing of the same power in its forwardness of en-
deavour to rise up in the *High-Presbytery*. Can it enter into your
thoughts, that the Arm of the *Jehovah* was made yours, and did
erect it self in you, to the extorting of that Sword of Persecution
for *Conscience* out of the hands of those two interests successively,
with an intent that you should at last put it into that hand which
may prove most heavy? When the power of prosecuting, and cast-
ing

ing down men for their Opinions in points of Faith, resided in the Hierarchy or Prelacy, if any rigid censures or determinations passed in their Courts against any, and they were delivered up to be tormented; the *Civil Magistrate* might possibly have been implored to have shewn mercy, and to have interposed, by some means or other, for the mitigation (if not the whole taking off) of the judgement threatned: but when those that should be for Cities of Refuge to the oppressed and afflicted, shall themselves be vested with a power to afflict in the same kind; how sad and lamentable is it like to be, when they shall have a mind and will to act according to that power, there being no considerable or equi-ponderating interest left, as likely to mediate with any spirit of lenity?

4 It is not long since the spirit of a deep slumber possessed many of you; at which time you appeared to the well-disposed and best-seeing amongst the people, as men that had utterly forgotten your old Engagements, and the many *Protestations* you made to assert and maintain, to your utmost, the *just Liberties* of the honest people of the Land: Now through the providence of God, you have been awakened to see your own defections, and to re-mind that from whence you were fallen; consider then what agreement and proportion there is between your aforesaid Engagements, and this new Proposal: Shall the glory of your Repentance be stained with actions of a more unworthy and unhandsome character, then those of yours were before your *Back-sliding*? You profess that you have attained to a sensibility of your *Apostate State*; be humbly and seriously admonished then to *bring forth fruits meet for Repentance*; that God and man may take pleasure in your Revival.

5 Many of those who dissent from you in Doctrines of God, who are yet peaceable in the Land, were taught by you to challenge and desire their liberty in matters of Faith, and their exemption from the cognizance of any *Civil Judicature* upon their *Dissent*. Such a thing as this, your *Declarations*, your *Remonstrances*, &c. contended for, and that too, with so much strength and pregnancy of Evidence, and light of Reason, that some of those whom you now leave to themselves to petition for their own *liberty*, as you have done for yours, became *Proselytes* to you, and to that Cause, at first contended for by you; (to the settling and securing of which, you did most solemnly and seriously engage your selves) by means of your *Declarations*, and those other ways of your arguing of it out. Some by-stander unprejudiced, and interested neither in your ways, nor in the way of those whom you now leave

leave out, may hereupon not unaptly apply those words of the *Psal-
mist*, (*Psal.* 119. which were by him intended for a confession of
Gods goodness, and of the rich sufficiency of his Laws for coun-
selling) to the men of your *Excommunication*, and say, *they are become
wiser then their Teachers, &c.* You were men eminent for publike-
ness of spirit; how is your wine turned into water? and you had
many sons of imitation; children who drew their lines by your
lines, and builded after that plat-form drawn out by your selves:
How narrow-spirited should these become, if they should take you
for their example in this business also; and do as you have done at
last?

6 But you are at variance with your selves in this and some for-
mer Proposals, and tenders of your minds about this kind of li-
berty; which is not a matter of much difficulty to make appear. I
shall presume upon your patience, whiles I am endeavouring a brief
discovery thereof: And although many of your papers will manifest
how foully you have fallen upon your selves in this your late at-
tempt and expedition; yet (because I would not be over-tedious)
I will single out only two for that purpose; viz. your *Declaration*
of *August* 2. 1647. and your Draught of an *Agreement of the
People*, presented to the Parliament; together with a Petition,
Jan. 20. 1649. (By the way, I make choice of these two fore-
mentioned works of yours, above any other, out of which to pro-
duce instances shewing your *variation*, because these were drawn up
by you, and offered at the feet of State, at such times in which
there were the greatest, and (seemingly) the most intent endea-
vours for the laying foundations to a firm and well-grounded peace;
and the times wherein both of these papers were conceived and
produced respectively, were such, in which the eyes of men were
fixed upon the Army, in expectation of some *great thing*; and there-
fore it is to be supposed that they did their utmost, according as
both seasons required, for the settling and establishing of the Rights
and just Liberties of the people, which they had so frequently and
earnestly declared and engaged to endeavour.) In the former of
the said papers, page 9. it is propounded, in order to the clearing and
securing the Rights and Liberties of the Kingdom, and the set-
tling of a just and lasting peace, (as the Title of the said Proposals
speak) 'That an Act be passed to take away all Coercive Power, Au-
thority, and Jurisdiction of Bishops, and all other Ecclesiastical Offi-
cers whatsoever, extending to any civil penalties upon any; And so
repeal all Laws whereby the Civil Magistracy hath been, or is

bound, upon any Ecclesiastical censure, to proceed (ex-officio) unto any civil penalties against any persons so censured: And that there be a repeal of all Acts, or Clauses in any Act, imposing any penalty for not coming to Church, or for meetings elsewhere, for prayer, or other Religious Duties, Exercises or Ordinances; and some other provision be made for discovering of Papists and popish Recusants, and for disabling of them, and of all Jesuites or Priests, from disturbing the State. Upon which Proposals it may be observed, amongst other things; First, That it was the desire of the Army, that no coercive power about or concerning matters of Religion, (that being a part of what before fell under the cognizance of the Ecclesiastical Officers) should continue or reside in the hands of any; for they propose, That all such Jurisdiction of Bishops should be taken away, and this without the least provision or intimation given for the use or exercise thereof, by any other Interest whatsoever. Secondly, They leave it to the care of the Parliament to provide onely against the disturbance of the State by Papists or Jesuites, when such Acts which impose any penalties for not coming to Church or for meetings elsewhere for Prayers, or other Religious Duties, Exercises or Ordinances, should be by Them repealed. Now if the Exercise of coercive power, Jurisdiction, or Authority extending to civil penalties for matters Ecclesiastical, were adjudged unwarrantable, and against the Rights and Liberties of the People, and Peace of the Nation, when it remained in the hands of the Bishops, may it not be supposed and apprehended to be of the same evil Nature, and to have the like tendency in what hand soever it be? or was it not intended in those dayes to be taken out of their Hands, with a Desire that it should never come into any other? This without controversie, was the Designe of the spirit of the Army at that time; if it can but be called into Remembrance; and thus much also the Proposals themselves, being carefully observed, do, with clearness enough, intimate. Again, In your Draught of an Agreement of the People, you in the eighth Head of the said Draught, speaking of the Power and Supreme Trust which the Representatives of the People, should be understood to have, declare and agree to have it extend (amongst other things) to the highest and final Judgement concerning all natural or civil things; but not concerning things spiritual or Evangelical. And concerning Toleration; and the Qualifications of persons to be tolerated by the State, you declare and agree in the third particular under the ninth Article, which is expressly intended for Religion, That such as profess faith in God, through Jesus Christ, (however differing in Judgment

ment from the Doctrine, Worship, or Discipline publicly held forth) shall not be restrained from, but shall be protected in, the profession of their faith and exercise of religion according to their consciences, in any place (except such as shall be set apart for the publick Worship, where we provide not for them, except they have leave) so as they abuse not this Liberty to the Civil Injury of others, or to the actual Disturbance of the publick Peace upon their parts. — Now (Gentlemen) let these Passages of yours, fore-recited, be revised by you, and compared with that Proposal concerning Religion and Toleration, which you have now made to this Parliament, and which is now under Debate; and you cannot but observe a very great *Alteration* (I may say, without impeachment of falsehood, or waste made upon your Names or Honours, a very great and most deplorable *Declination*) of Minde and Spirit, about the *Liberty of Religious People*, and that too, in things of greatest moment and importance, being such as respect God, and the Consciences of men. *Produce your strong Reasons*; let the Grounds and Causes of this prodigious Change of yours be manifested, and let it be known, why you are not of the same minde in the things of this concernment, and in order to the settling and securing of the *Rights and Liberties* of the people, 1659. as you were of, *August 1. 1647.* and *Jan. 15. 1649.* that so those who made one and the same minde with you, concerning *Liberty in Religion*, may, if your change be rational and for the best, convert, with you, to a better, and more sober Judgement (pardon my plainness; for I have it in my heart to honour you more, then any *Flatterer* in the world will do, although I thus speak.)

7. Nor will it be much available to redeem you from under the sufferings of this contradiction, to say, That although you have indeed petitioned for men of such a Character as you have given in your Proposal, and onely for such, yet you have not petitioned against any other; and so have not offered an occasion to any, to complain of wrong done to them by that Proposal. It is true indeed; some kinde of thanks may (haply) be due to him who will not wish me any harm, although he utterly refuse to wish me well; and in this respect, some tribute of thankfulness may be paid to you, by those for whose Liberty you have propounded nothing; yet it is such that will not much convert to your honour or glory. But secondly, and according to this construction of your Proposal, you leave the men excepted by you, to the mercy of Parliaments; many of whose Members you cannot but know, are, and are likely to be, men of a far

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less Latitude, in regard of Christian Liberty, then your selves: so that your design and undertaking is of a sad regret, even to your selves; for all the water wherewith *Pilate* washed his hands, at the arraignment of Jesus Christ, will never clear him for a man of Innocency, about the death of that Just Person; because he engaged not his utmost to deliver Him from the rage of his cruel and tyrannizing Adversaries. He that redeems not his Neighbour from injury, if it be in the power of his hand to do it, contracts the same guilt upon his soul with him that doth the wrong. Thirdly, and that also which is of an observation no whit inferiour to the other, in your former Proposals, Declarations and publick Tenders, you have asserted it for your Judgement, That the way to the settling of the peace of the Nation, and the securing of the Rights and Liberties thereof, is, amongst other things, by providing for the safety of all Christians, however differing in Doctrine, Worship or Discipline, from the publick profession of the Nation. But fourthly and lastly, You have most solemnly engaged your selves, once and again, in the presence of God, and in the view and observation of the world, to endeavour your uttermost, for the asserting and vindicating of the just Freedoms of the People; more especially of the well-affected sort: so that it lyeth on you to prove that the men for whom you have spoken neither word nor syllable in your Petition, are disaffected and malignantly enclined, with whose Toleration the peace of the Nation cannot consist, because of their turbulent and seditious spirit, or that their Liberty of thinking and speaking concerning God, Christ, &c. according to the Dictates of their consciences, is unjust, and against the Fundamental Laws of the Land: or thirdly, you are to draw a line of vanity over this your Proposal, as not reaching the *Heights and Depths, the Lengths and Breadths of that Good Old Cause*, the declared end of your Engagements. Or lastly, You may, with trembling, expect that the faithful and onely wise God, who is a consuming Fire, and whose Eyes have seen the Designs and Outgoings of your souls from *Naseby* hitherto, will sooner or later, powre out contempt upon your Heads, and judge you as men that break *Promises and religious Vows* are judged.

8. But upon what side soever this Proposal is to be taken, it seemeth to me that, as it proceedeth from you, the honourable *Council of the Army*, it will be charged through with this ensuing *Dilemma*; either it wills that none but those whose Judgements are constituted according to the Rules therein expressed, should be tolerated and protected in their professions with the protection of the Com-

Commonwealth; or else that those who are of another Constitution, should act in their own behalf, as the Council of Officers hath, by this, done in theirs. If in the former way, Then the foregoing and the following Arguments, in this Discourse, rise up both against it, and them. If in the later, where is that publickness of spirit, which the Authors of this Tender, once professed to be in them, by engaging for the Liberties of all the free-born people of the Land, as well as for their own?

9. If we may not call this *Liberty*, thus extended as the present Debate contends to have it, the indubitable *Right* of the People; yet at the least it cannot but be doubtful to *All* that have any minde to question things before they credit them, and become a Scruple to men of Conscience (after all that which hath been urged, from time to time, in the behalf thereof) *whether it be not the Right of Men*. If it be so (and how it can be otherwise, I cannot possibly conceive) is it not far better, more suitable to the doubtful Conscience of the State, and much more likely to be well-pleasing to Jesus Christ, to erre upon the right hand of *Indulgence*, then upon the left hand of *Severity*? Mercy rejoiceth over Judgement in the *most High*: How much more should those *Gods of the World*, who dwell in Houses of *Clay*, and whose *Foundation* is in the *Dust*, shew Lenity and Mercy and not Judgement, who have reason in abundance, at least to doubt whether they ought to spare or strike?

10. The loud Exclamations of an accursed Toleration, (for so some zealous men do phrase it, who know not what spirit they are of) are not much to be observed in this Case, and at this time of *Settlements*, (except it be for the rebuke of that unclean and fiery spirit from whence they proceed) nor will the Parliament, or Army, I presume, be driven by such blasts to do or settle any thing, to the just complaint of any party whatsoever. For if Successes be any Decisions of things in Controversie, or Determinations of the Righteousness or Unrighteousness of a Cause or Quarrel (and there is some notice to be taken of a *continued Line* or *Series* of them) the Lord of *Hosts* hath (as at other times, so) even now determined between the Presbyterian claim (in conjunction with the Royal Party) and that sort of men called *Seſtaries*: and from this there is a new Argument to be raised and urged in the behalf of their *Liberty*. Their uniting together for the Maintenance and Defence of the Cause of the Commonwealth, against them that rose up to invade it, is a passage of Providence, not lightly to be passed over. They stood up jointly for the Rights and Liberties of the Nation in general, (in which their own
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are included) and became instrumental in their measures for the saving the reof from the danger threatned; and for the safeguard of that Government, from which they do now expect their protection. Is it just or prudent to withhold from them the Fruit of their Labors, which the good hand of Providence hath made to grow up for common use? shall these, or any of these, be saved and preserved (through Divine Goodness) from the violence of the *Common Adversary*, that looked with a rough countenance upon the whole, to receive blows and wounds in the house of *their Friends*, from whom they have reason and assurance given to hope for better entertainment? You may be pleased to consider from whom those Exclamations, mentioned in the beginning of this Section, do break out; and against whom they do sparkle in their rage of fire; and then judge.

11. When that free and publick Spirit, that Spirit of Ingenuity, Righteousness and Moderation, wherewith you were acted in dayes of Old, cometh up into our Remembrance and Consideration, we cannot but wonder at this Proposal; and suppose that there is neither Root nor Branch, Head nor Foot of the Minde or Desire of the Council of Officers therein; but rather, that it is the spurious and unhappy production of some distempered Spirit, begotten in the night, and imposed on You. For into whose Thoughts can it enter, that an Army that hath contended for *Religious Liberty* so many years in Blood, and have made the Foes of the said Liberty, how great and authoritative soever they have appeared, to become their *Footstool*, should give away with their own hands, wittingly, and without asking, that Liberty, or at least, a very great part thereof, which hath cost them so dear, and is the Price of the Lives of so many Men of Honour and Renown, which have fallen in the Purchase? At such a thing as this, the Heavens would be astonished, and the Earth confounded, should it not be held and esteemed by Men of reason, amongst those *Monstra Horrenda*, those dreadful and mishapen Monsters, which Nature is ashamed to own. A perswasion that this work is yours, could not have the least room in us who are Lookers on, and Observers of you, had you not given it under your Hands, and held it up to the view of the World in Print: nay, we cannot be so confident now, neither, that we see the Heart and Soul of the Armies Council therein; because some of you have wished that *that Proposal had not been born*, (at least in that form in which it now seeth the light) and others, that it had not been printed; so unwilling have some among your selves, who are more tender of your Name, Cause and Honour, been, that your Nakedness should not appear. It is then

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then, vehemently to be suspected (from divers grounds of guesse, besides these two) that you have been imposed upon, in this your undertaking, and that you have not used your own Eyes, nor your own Reason, nor your own Judgements, nay, nor your own Wills; but by a strange cessation of these Arms upon your side, you have suffered the Judgement and the Will of *one Magisterial Doctor*, to triumph over you and yours, and to sit down in the Chair. Alas! Gentlemen, could you not see that that Doctor had a new Device and Designe? The Charge which he gave upon the *Socinian* Party with his Quill, being, even in the Judgement of the Learned and more sober of his *own side*, but weak; and so not likely to gain that Honour to the Enterprizer, as might be expected; nor to put his Adversaries to the Rout. He wheeles off from that kinde of service, and endeavours to pitch his Tent amongst your Tents, and to engage the Parliament and Army in his Quarrel; *That what he could not do with his Arguments, they may (if possible) do with their Swords.*

12. For it is (indeed) bruited abroad amongst some, for a Truth, that one Finger at least, (if not the whole Head, and both the Hands) of Doctor *John Owen*, was in the compiling and drawing up of this Proposal. The Materials, I confess, and the compacting of them together, do shew the Doctor; and the Doctor in them sheweth himself a man, led (not by that Spirit of Truth which was with *Paul*, in his laying down that Article of Justifying Faith to the believing *Romans*, cap. 10.9. nor by that Spirit of Sweetness, which the Nature and Form of Independency requires, but) by the Spirit of him (*Athanasius* I mean) who made the deepest Mysteries, especially as they are notioned by him, the Objects of saying Faith; and damned all that could not believe them: yet we finde not that he (did, as this Doctor hath done) removed such as dissented from his *Creed*, out of the countenance and protection of State. And seeing Doctor *Owen* (if Reports abuse him not) hath had the greatest share in this performance, let him observe, that if he please to maintain the Cause of his narrow-chested Toleration, and to shew the grounds of its contraction, I dare presume (because there are so many, who are express and clear for perfect Liberty) he will not want an Adversary to combat with him: But if none of these should arise to plead the Cause of an Interest so much mistaken and despised, as this of *Liberty of Conscience* is, some Stone, at length, will speak, rather then he shall go off without encounter. But this by the way. Be advised, ye sons of Honour and Esteem, to take heed how you gratifie the will of one particular Interest or sort of Men, against the Just Rights and Freedoms.

doms of more then one ; there being nothing more prejudicial to a Kingdom or a Commonwealth, then to advance one Party or Faction to the just discontent of all the rest.

13. But if (notwithstanding all probabilities, yea, and this Council's own *Old Tenders*, to the contrary) it must be accepted for the *Proposal of the Officers of the Army*: then, Gentlemen, I beseech you have a little more patience with me, while I expostulate with you, and reason further thereupon; and that too, with respect of that Liberty for which you petition in the behalf of your selves: Either, you desire it as your Right and Due; or as that which you would have conferred upon you merely out of the Grace and Favour of the Parliament: if you move, in this part of your Address, upon the latter Foot of Account, then the Parliament, if they please, may deny your Request, and yet do you no wrong in their denial. The Reason is, Because that which proceeds out of the meer *Beneplacitum*, the good Will and Grace of the Giver, cannot be challenged upon any other Terms then the Promise, (if there be any) of the Donor for the making of such a Vouchsafement: where I owe nothing, I am not bound to make payment. Have the High Court of Parliament bound themselves by *Promise* to grant Liberty, together with their protection and encouragement, to the Men of your Character and Qualification? If your Motion herein be upon the former; that is, If Liberty for Men of your Judgement be your Right, and thereupon you petition to have it confirmed and settled upon you, then it remains for you to shew, that those left out by you, to be chased by the Spirit of Violence, have forfeited their Right of Liberty; or else that they have no right to such a Freedom, neither by the Law of Reason, nor by the Fundamental Law of the Nation.

14. It may be concluded, I suppose, without any violence offered to this Proposal, that the minde and purpose of it is, That those who are not of the same minde in all things with it, should be left to the Parliament, to be proceeded against as Malefactors, they being in the Judgement of the Petitioners, unworthy of any better Usage. Why? what is their Crime? their Crime is, Their Consciences will not give them leave to believe such things as the Proposal speakes of; and therefore, they must be interdicted the use of their Liberty (*ipso facto*) and be dealt withal as capital Offenders. Herein you presuppose that the *Princes and Rulers* of this world, and consequently, the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England, &c. have a lawful Jurisdiction over the Conscience, and an unquestionable Authority to exercise *Coercive power* over Men, barely for their Opinion about things,

things, more especially, pertaining to God. This was not alwayes the Judgement of the Officers of the Army; or if it were, your proceeding in the Eighth Article of your Draught of an Agreement of the People (which we have often noted) was most intolerable; In which Article, you confine and tie up the Peoples Representatives (there intended for the *Supreme Judicatory*) from extending their power to things *Spiritual or Evangelical*. Now in prosecution of your then Judgements, I doubt not but it may be made appear in clearness of light, That the Parliament, (or any secular Powers of the world) *hath no power* (de Jure) settled in them, to make or enact any Law, or to put in Execution any Law made, for the constraining of any of their Subjects to be of this or that Minde or Way, in Doctrine, or in the worship of God. (I say not, but that they may hold out a Confession of Faith, according to the best of their Understanding in the Gospel of Jesus Christ, and imploy men able and well qualified, for the teaching of the Nation, and to win men to imbrace the Faith of God, and encourage such men by all due means in the performance of their Work: what I therefore assert, is, That they ought not to exercise any coercive power over Men, barely for their dissent in points of Faith, or for thinking otherwise then the publick Profession of the Nation speaks.) And this, I hope, will be evinced in the following Periods: yet with a full reserve of all humble and due Respects and Confessions of Honour and Obedervance to that Supreme Court.

15. We have before observed, that men obtain the place of Trust and Rule over their Brethren, Either by a divine and immediate Consecration, or by Conquest, or by the Consent and Choice of the people, over whom they are to rule. The first way is run out long ago. The second is more brutal, and seldom pleaded or insisted on by the Ruler, because it promiseth little lasting peace or safety to his Throne. The third way appeares with the face of a man upon it, and is humane and rational. The Parliament of *England*, &c. obtain their Power and Jurisdiction in and over the great and weighty Affaires of the *Commonwealth*, by the Choice and Approbation of the people, by whom, and for whose benefit they are entrusted, (this is that which is of so catholick or general a confession and acknowledgement, that it stands in need of no further proof to make it an acceptable and established Maxime or Rule of State) and the power which they have, is derived to them, and descends upon them, from the people. Now it is most clear, That the people cannot be interpreted to have any will, in passing away this power to, and setting of it in, the Parliament, that they should extend and exercise it to the decreeing and inflicting of

punishments on them ; in case their Consciences shall not be perswaded about things of Religion, as the Conscience of the Parliament is. For suppose that every Individual person, who hath given his voice for the chusing of Parliament-men, should be examined upon this interrogatory ; whether he intended, in giving his voice, that those Men so chosen by him, should (if they should be so inclined) make penal Statutes for the constraining of him to be of this or that minde in points of Faith or Divine Worship ; or, which is all one, for the taking away of the Liberty of his Conscience from him ? Do you think that the answer to be given hereto, would not be in the Negative, and that you should hear him speaking thus, or to this effect : *I desire to serve and worship God, according to the light and Dictates of my Conscience, and not to be deprived of my Liberty therein ?* If this, then, be the return which every individual of the people will make to such a Demand, (as most certain it is, except those who are yet to chuse their Religion, and are contented that the Parliament should be their chusers, to save themselves the trouble of chusing ; the Result of which sort of men is not to be heeded, because they have no Conscience in these things : I say, If this be to be taken for the peoples answer to such a Demand) then the Parliament, who are entrusted by the people, and receive their power from them, cannot, by *the Will of the people*, extend their power to the inflicting of any civil punishments upon such as dissent from them in the things aforesaid, barely because they do dissent. Nor, secondly, would this be any part of the Authority of Parliament, if the will of the people should be to the conferring of such a power upon them : because no man hath any power or Authority, over the Conscience of his Neighbour ; and so by consequence, hath no Authority to empower any, one or more, to execute such a kinde of Judgement, as this we speak of : God having reserved the Dominion of Mens Consciences Himself and his Son Christ Jesus. Now because no man, nor Body of Men, can give or derive that unto another, of which he himself hath not the lawful power and possession, therefore it is to be concluded, that the Parliament hath no just or warrantable *Authority*, which derives it self from the people to them, by which they may lord over Mens Faith or Consciences, or endeavour to frame and fashion their Judgements into their own or other mens likeness, by enacting and decreeing of punishments to be inflicted on such as cannot be molded into their Form of Confession.

16. If it should be said, in opposition to that which hath been now spoken, *That the choice of the people doth give the Right to rule ;*
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but not the *law of ruling by* : so that the Magistrate being chosen, is not to have respect so much unto the peoples choice (or to their power in choosing) for the steering of his power in *Government*, as to some other *means* for his Direction : unto this, answer may be given. First, That unto which this Objection, implicately, supposeth the Magistrate should have recourse for the regulating, steering and extending of his power, must be a Rule given out for that purpose, either *from God* more immediately, or *from Men*. If the Rule be given more immediately *from God*; where is it? where may it be seen; that so, the people also may have recourse to it, to receive satisfaction about the extent of the *power* of their *Rulers*? As for the law of Moses delivered to the *Governours* and *people of Israel*, how much that is concerned herein, we shall observe a little by and by. If this *Rule* for Government be *from Men*; it is either from the Magistrates themselves, who are to rule; or, from the subjects to be ruled: If from the Magistrates; then it is as much as if the Objection had said, The Law to rule and govern by, is the Rulers will and pleasure, and from this he is to fetch his Counsel and Direction for Government. But this was not wont to be born well. If from the people to be ruled, then that ground is kept, on which we stood before. But secondly, it is true; the *choice of the people* being strictly and formally considered, (and in that respect it gives *Jus ad Regnum*) doth not create or confer the Law by which the Magistrate must or ought to rule; but the *Design* and *Intention* of the people in their Choice, doth. Their Design is, That such as are chosen and entrusted by them, should consult and act for the preservation, benefit and advantage of the whole Community from which they have received that Trust and power: and the persons chosen, being men of Understanding, Reason and Judgement, are to make the *lines* of their Government to *center* in that *point*. The Law of Nature instructs and binds men to study and take care for the things of their own safety and benefit: so that when they make choice of some to be Lords or Rulers over them, they must be understood to confer such a power upon them, as they themselves (*conjunctim & divisim*) have, from the said Law, to endeavour their own well-fare and prosperity: and what Princes or Parliaments who are entrusted by the People for their weal and safety, rule and govern by this Law of Nature, to this end; being chosen by the people, they may be said to be chosen by God; and ruling for their Subjects good, according to the Law of Nature (which is a certain and immoveable Bound and Limit to them, if there be no more set up) they may be also said, to rule by the Law of GOD, inasmuch as

that Great Creator is the Fountain of this Law.

17. Nor are the proceedings of the Kings and Governours of the Jews obligatory or binding to the Princes or Parliaments of the Nations, so as that there is a necessity of following them : and this the *Fathers of the Commonwealth* acknowledge, by making Reason (not divine immediate Oracle) the Life of their Law ; and by making choice onely of such Laws , from amongst those once in force with the Jews, which, in their Judgement, are consonant to Reason, and do hold correspondency with the end of all Government, *vizt. The peoples Weal.* So that the compulsive force which the Kings and Rulers of *Israel* used for the setting up of the Worship of the true God, and in demolishing Idols, is no warrantable ground for the Governours of other Nations now, (how Pious and Christian: soever they are) to proceed upon to the punishing of men, although of an erring Conscience, even in things of moment in Religion : For first, the Kings of *Israel* were strictly charged and required, under pain of divine displeasure, to rule according to the *Book of the Law* given by *Moses* : they were not left at Liberty, to govern according to their own wills ; nor after the Reason or will of the State , but expressly by that Law ; they must not turn to the *Right Hand* nor to the *left*. But by the Judgement and practice of our Law-Makers , and Law-Expositors, (as hath been said) Princes or Parliaments are not obliged to tread exactly in the steps of those Laws of *Moses* ; but are left at their Liberty to chuse or to refuse what of them, they (upon Reason's Information) shall see good. But further , and in the second place, The Monarchy of the Jews is expired (in the letter and formality thereof) and not descended or derived down to any the Nations or Commonwealths of the world beside : nor is it pretended by the Rulers of this Nation, that they are the undoubted Successors of the Kings of the Jews , and do rise up after Them to sit upon their *Throne*, and to act by their Law. Thirdly ; This Kingdom of *Israel* was figurative of that Dominion and Sovereignty which the Lord Jesus was to receive and exercise over the world; more especially, over his own Church and people. So that what was done by the Kings of *Israel*, cannot (*eo nomine*, or because done by Them) be taken as binding to the *Princes of the Nations* , to do the *Things* aforesaid. Fourthly ; God vouchsafed to the Kings and Princes of *Israel*, Prophets of his own making, and other meanes for inquiry in doubtful cases; and by these they were many times directed what they should do. Fifthly, In the giving of the law to *Israel*, there was not the least word or Intimation given, that the Kings of the Nations which then were,

were, or which after should be, should observe the same Course and Rule for Governing in their Dominions, which were commanded to be observed within the gates of Israel. Sixthly, and lastly; If Christian Governours or the *Princes of the Nations* conceive themselves bound to govern by the law of *Moses* in one part thereof, why not in all, and every part? there being nothing delivered whereby they may conceive themselves obliged to the observation of some part thereof, and set at freedom from the rest. But of what an unpleasant sound this is in the ears of Men acquainted with any thing of publique concernment, and how repugnant to the Gospel of Christ Jesus, there is no need that any notice should be given.

18. If it be questioned why the Magistrates Jurisdiction over the Consciences of his subjects should not be held as acceptable and as well-pleasing to God now, as it was in the time of the *Law*; it may be answered: first; It is not so clear that the governours of *Judah* and *Israel* had any such Jurisdiction or Authority conferred upon Them by that law. But secondly; let the Authority of *these* be whatsoever; it is most clear that it was derived to them from the *Jehovah*, in or by meanes of their Law-giver, *Moses*: so in like manner; when it shall be manifested That the *Jehovah* hath, by Son his *Jesus*, our Law-giver, ordained that the Magistrates of the Nations shall exercise Authority over the mindes and Consciences of their subjects, to constrain them to believe either as the Magistrates themselves, or any other sort or Interest of men besides them, do believe, by the infliction of such and such penalties; or That any one of those prime Ministers of the Gospel (the Apostles) hath appointed any Magistrates which were to succeed in the World to exercise any such kind of Judgement upon those that are subjected under them; or given so much as the least intimation thereof; (*actum eris de lite nostra*) we will then lay down our Arms, and conclude, that there is some ground for the Rulers of this world to build upon, and to believe that such an Authority, and the execution thereof accordingly, is a work of acceptation with God: but because none of these things appear, the power spoken of comes deservedly under Question: and the Arm of any State may tremble to lift it self up to the doing of any thing of that kinde. We may adde to this; thirdly, That the Bosome of Government amongst the Jews, (as rigid and severe as it is thought to have been) was not so narrow and contracted, but that it received men of divers wayes, and of very different apprehensions about divine things, with patience, and into protection. Those that have observed and written of their Customs and Antiquities, in-

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form us, that there were many *Sects* among them. They had and protected their *Profelytes of the gates* (Observers of *Nouns Precepts* onely) as well as their *Profelytes of the Temple*: there were the *Essens*, men of a very severe life, but superstitious minds: The *Pharisees*, exceedingly addicted to Traditions (or humane Additions:) and the *Sadducees*, who denied the doctrine of the Resurrection from the dead, and the existence of Angels and Spirits. All these (and more then these) lived and enjoyed their Liberty under that Government. And in their receiving of *Profelytes*, we finde them very careful to search into the Principles of the desires of such, who had a minde to come over to them; to see that no apprehension of force or power, or any the like unnatural or unwarrantable means, did commit any rape upon them, whereby they might conceive a desire to adde themselves unto the Church of Israel. It is observed by *Maimony*, (and *Ainsworth* notes it out of him, on *Gen. 17. 12.*) that the Judges received no *Profelytes* all the dayes of *David* and *Solomon*. The Reason is very notable; They would not in *David's* dayes, lest they should have come of fear; nor in *Solomons*, lest they should have come because of the Kingdom and great prosperity which Israel then had. Would the Christian Kings and Governours of the Gentiles act in the same spirit, and walk by the same Rule; there would be no cause left, I conceive, for any to complain of force or coercive power, used by them, for the constraining of those over whom they rule, to be of one minde with themselves, in Points of Religion, and the Worship of GOD.

19. Jesus Christ, who is the onely Law-giver to his Church, gives this Precept for the regulating of the Conversations of his Disciples; *Whatsoever you would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them.* It will not be said, That a sitting down in the Throne of Government or place of Trust and Rule, doth exempt the Governours from the Observance of this Command. Well then; suppose the *Parliament* and the *People* should be of a divers Opinion about the things of God: as for instance; suppose the *Parliament* should be of this minde, That Jesus Christ (who is yet the King of kings) is not the most High God; or (which is the same) that he is not co-equal and co-eternal with the Father; and that the *People* believe, as the Council of the Army speaks, in this Proposal, with which we are now conflicting. What should the *Parliament* do in this Case? If they make a Law, in favour of the Peoples Judgement, against their own, then they wrong themselves; and it is believed they will not do so. If they enact a penal Law in favour of their own Opinion, against

against the people; then, besides the injury which they do the people, they violate and trample upon that *Royal Law* before mentioned, and thereby become guilty before the great *Tribunal of God*.

20. It is of very dangerous consequence for any persons or worldly powers, to disparage the glorious Gospel of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, with weakness and insufficiency, for the management of its own affairs amongst men. What do the secular Governments of this world do less, when they intermingle their power and authority with the things of God, and Gospel of Christ? do they not thereby declare and pronounce, That the Laws of Jesus Christ are weak of themselves, and unable to supplant Error? or that they are defective, and have need of some supplement of their making and contrivance, to serve in the place of that which is wanting? and therein are so far from attributing incomparable Wisdom to the Author thereof, which is His due; that they reflect upon Him, with folly and improvidence. The great Jehovah wills not that men should employ their humane *Arts of Addition or Subtraction*, about his things. And it was *Agurs* counsel to his Scholar, That he should not *add to the words of God*, (and he gives this reason) *lest he reprove thee, and thou art found a liar*, i. e. lest he correct thee with his Rod, who by thy addition, hast blemished the reputation of his Word. Did God take so much care that imperfection should not be charged upon his Law, which is the less; and shall we think He will take it kindly, or patiently indeed, that his Gospel, which is as the Sun for glory of Wisdom, should be called in question for insufficiency, by the additions of *humane Acts and Ordinances*? Be wise therefore, *Oh ye Kings*; and be instructed, *you that are Judges of this earth*.

21. That most excellent Author of that Epistle to the *Hebrews*, saith thus, *Cap. 3. 2.* That *He (Jesus Christ) was faithful to Him (the Father) that appointed him; as also Moses was faithful in all his house.* *Moses* is said to be faithful for this Reason, (amongst other;) Because he, being appointed by Jehovah, a Law-giver to the people of *Israel*, delivered and gave in charge *all such things*, as were needful to the regulating of the Affairs (whether Ecclesiastical or Civil) of that Nation; by means whereof, he hath obtained this Honour, to be recorded *faithful*. Now either Jesus Christ hath not been faithful in his *House*, as *Moses* was in his; or else he hath left an express *Commission* under hand and seal, requiring and authorizing all Christian Magistrates to take upon them the Government over the Consciences of their subjects, and to punish them if they will not believe his Gospel; or if they shall believe in any part thereof, otherwise than
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the truth indeed is : or else such an intermeddling of the Magistrate is no way requisite or needful ; but rather highly displeasing to this Supreme Law-giver ; inasmuch as it doth, upon the matter, charge him with *unfaithfulness*, and therein set Him far beneath his Servant *Moses. Kiss the Son, lest he be angry.*

22. The Sum & Conclusion of all is this, That the Civil Magistrates are authorized neither by the will of the *People* who choose them, nor from any power the *People* have for such a purpose, nor by any word or Commission from *God* or his Son *Jesus Christ*, to make or ordain any *Lawes* for the constraining of men to believe as they believe, or to worship as they worship; and consequently, that they have no Authority at all to imploy themselves in the Execution of any such workes.

23. Hence may the Princes of this World (by whatsoever name they are called and dignified) be advertised to take heed of coming too neare that *mount*, which the *Jehovah* hath sanctified for *Himself* and his Son *Jesus* to set their Thrones in. I am for the peace and settlement of the Nations; and would that they should be settled upon such a *Bottom*, that it may stand with the good liking of *God*, till He shall please to call in the *Commissions* of all the Kings and Rulers of this Earth, and discharge Them from any further attendance and service of that kinde; But I verily believe, that if any stone in our Foundation, now intended to be laid, be set upon any part of those Dominions, which he hath more especially reserved for Himself and his Christ, He will very suddenly scatter it with the whirle-wind of his anger and indignation; and thereby shew the vanity of the Builders, and give them a late occasion to repent of their rashness; when they shall see their Endeavours laid waste, and themselves or their Posterities cast out into sufferings. Yet if (notwithstanding the serious fore-thoughts of these things) they shall proceed, upon their own Accounts, to the Arraignment of men, because their Judgements do not jump with the Judgement of the State, who go about to censure by their Authority; the prosecuted (although erring in Judgement) may traverse the whole proceeding with Pleasure and Contentment, on this Ground, that they stand *coram non-Judice*; and in their Hearts may appeal to a *Higher*, and the proper judge, even to *Jesus, the Lord of quick and dead.*

24. But why do I reason so pensively concerning the power of our great Court of *Parliament*; as if they were about to do any thing unworthy Themselves, and that great Trust with which the people have invested them? No; I hope there are so many *Gama-liels*

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hels in that Council, that they will not proceed to censure men of a
divers mind from theirs in the doctrines of Faith or Worship, lest they
should be found, by the grand and most righteous inquisition of hea-
ven, *βουδχοι*, men fighting against God: Or if they are so confident of
their own present apprehensions, about things of that nature, as not to
believe they may be mistaken; yet their Wisdom, after the observation
of so many (& those so various) Passages of divine Providence, is so ma-
tured, that they will take heed how they usurp any part of the Crown
of Jesus Christ our King, who alone hath the Legislative power over
the conscience, (as it hath been often intimated.) Dissenting men, who
all of them united and rose up to ingage in the behalf of the present
Authority, against the late Adversary, may be confident, I presume,
that they shall not be denied the *Cause of their Ingagement*, by this
Parliament. It remains, then, that that High Court be most hum-
bly desired that they would settle things so, that no following powers
may easily invade our Christian Liberty (for who knoweth what
disposition they will be of, that shall arise after them?) and that they
and you, (the Noble Officers of the Army) would take all care to
benefit your own, and our Posterities, and to commend your Names
to be embalmed by them for perpetuity, through the Remembrance
of your most just and righteous Actions, and happy Endeavours for
Publique Settlement. That night wherein no man can work, comes
on apace upon you, as upon all the world: It will not be long,
before Death set up his Ensignes of Conquest and Triumph over
you, and lay you in the Dust, and shut you up as Prisoners unto the
exact and most impartial *Judgement of the great day*; when you, as
well as those who now are under you, must appear before the *Tribu-
nal* of the Lord: at which time, the remembrance of those *Acts*
which have been past, and Works done by you out of a sincere heart,
to the breaking of every Yoke of Oppression, & to the easing of the
Conscience of every man, professing Jesus Christ, from all unrighte-
ous Impositions, will administer more true Consolation to you, and
bring in more honour and rejoycing, then whatsoever you have done
out of a private spirit, or with a design to gratifie one sort of men; to
the just grievance of all: These, and the like works or intentions to
these, should you be guilty of them any further, (which God avert)
being of a Demerit, which (under the Righteous Judgement of God)
is able to sink your souls into Eternal Darkness, and to pierce them
through with ten thousand sorrows.

25. But why, (O Magnanimous and Religious Officers) why have
you tempted that *High Court of Parliament*, and laid a snare, and a

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stumbling block in the way to the settlement of the just Rights and Liberties of the People? do you not know that *Dominion* is, of it self a fore Temptation? how much sorer then, when the *Sons of that Dominion* shall be provoked to exceed those Bounds which God hath set up to them, by Tenders and Proposals offered from such Hands as *Tours*? Do you think that Parliaments are as God, that can be tempted by none; that you have so easily, in one Proposal, given away (as far as in you lieth) the *Good Old Cause*, which is your *Cause*, and the Parliaments *Cause*, and the *Cause* of every honest and religious Man in the Nations under their Government? For what you leave to Parliaments, as that you would have to fall under their cognizance now, may be a leading Case, and a means to render even your selves obnoxious to their censures for your Judgements, in what you differ from them, another day; because your selves, and such as you, may be proceeded against, upon as just and warrantable grounds, if another Parliament please, as those are, on which you do, in effect, move *This* to proceed against others; and so you (yea, and the Members of this present Parliament also) may lose your Liberty by a Law of your own making, upon the matter. Be it far from you, then, (honoured and Christian Brethren) to tempt any unto evil; much less your Parliament, the Creators of your Power and Authority. Nay, you should be so far removed from a work of that dismal and horrid nature, that if you discovered a Temptation likely to arise amongst Them, or to be offered to them by any hand whatsoever, you should give timely notice, that they may beware, and use all means meet and possible; that they may not stain their *Glory* with any Action of a dishonourable and unworthy note. Thus did our *Lord* to his Apostle *Peter*; He should have been your Example. Oh! why have you not done thus?

26. Time was, when the Soul of the Army took pleasure in the Spirit of Moderation and Forbearance; witness their commendation of some Tracts, which have been, at sundry times, published in favour

Zeal examined, &c.
Read also A discourse
of the Peace of the
Church.

Mr. Milton's Civil
power in Ecclesiastical
Causes.

of that Liberty for which this Discourse hath travelled. Have you not lost very much of that Spirit, in propounding as you have done; and thereby leaving some out for a prey, to whom things, which you say, you see, are not so clear; whose Consciences, are yet very tender of admitting any thing of this nature, which is not with some considerable clearness proposed in the Scriptures? Let not that Christian Moderation and Forbearance which..

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which once filled the Hearts of many of you, be converted and softened into rigidence, harshness and cruelty. The Lord is at hand, who is the Judge.

Be advised at last (you men of might and strength, whom God hath honoured) to consider *Seven times* what you ought to do in this great business of *Christian Liberty*. Let your own wisdom, your Names and Honours, *move* you to consider. Let the *remembrance* of the *good Old Cause*, which you are now raised up again (by the good providence of God) to assert and contend for, *move* you. Let the wrath of the Lamb which will be provoked by pressing too near his Throne with a bold spirit of Usurpation, *move* you; and let the humble Admonitions of your faithful friends, who dare not flatter you in any unrighteous worke; yet have it in their hearts to own and honour you as much as any whose dwellings are below, *move* you to revise your *Proposal*, and to consider what you have done therein. Let not that respect which you bear to any single Interest or sort of men, bias your affections so strongly, as to cause you to beare too hard upon the natural Rights of others, for whose Liberty also you are bound by your own Engagements to endeavour. I will trouble you no further, but only to tell you, that the fore-apprehensions of being esteemed an Advocate for the Socinian party, do not much stick with me. I can profess freely and with a good Conscience before God, Angels and men, that I have had a greater Eye upon the *Doctrine of Liberty*, in this discourse, then upon the *Liberty* of any particular *Doctrine* whatsoever; and should have as much to say in the behalfe of *Calvinisme* (or any other Religious Sect) in respect of *Toleration*, were it likely that that should be forced to lye under the *Altar* of this kinde of suffering; as for this Interest, which by your meanes hath had occasion to complaine and speake. The Lord give this Parliament and this Army wisdom in *this their day*, to finde out and pitch upon such solid Grounds and Principles as may make for the firm settlement of their own and the Nations *Peace and Liberty*. And seeing by the wise dispose of our God, who is to be blessed for ever, and who ruleth in the Heavens, and doth what pleaseth Him in the Kingdoms of this World, that things are brought to such an Issue at present that *they may do what they will*; Let it be their part and study, neither to will nor to endeavour the *Doing* of any more *then what they may*, with respect to the Lawes of God and Nature. The time is drawing on apace wherein the Heavens shall be no more; at which time you, and all the secular powers and potentates in the World, must

shall bow down, and yeeld up your Accounts before the highest Tribunal. As it is your wisdom, then; whiles you are conversing in your fraile Tabernacles, and have to do with the difficult Affairs of this World, to direct your Steps in such a straight course and line, that when you shall depart the Stage of *publique Allion*, you may receive a *bene discessis* from Him who is the Supreme Moderator of the Universe, and may enjoy the inestimable happiness and blessing of a good and quiet Conscience: so shall it be my prayer to the great Jehovah in your behalfe, that when He, whom the *Heaven of Heavens* must contain untill the time of the resurrection of all things, shall come riding upon the Clouds of Heaven, to the Judgement of the World; You may be able to render an Account of your Transactions, in these humane Affairs, with Joy, and not with Grief.

Septem. 22.
1659.

Your most humble Servant, faithfully devoted to serve you
in any just Interest.

